THE NEW REPUBLIC

Khrushchev's New Heir

by Richard Lowenthal

Church and State

by the Editors

Republicans in the South

by William Chapman

Deutschland All Uber Again

by Stanley Kauffmann

January 25, 1960, 25 cents

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Let Yourself Go

★ A slight, boyish, patrician figure stood at the podium of the National Press Club last week and said things we have waited a long time to hear. It was Democratic candidate John Kennedy, and in a clear upperclass accent that oddly recalled FDR he told what the office of the Presidency should be and how Eisenhower has debased it. It was an eloquent, stinging indictment, comparing Eisenhower with Coolidge, and bringing a shudder in reminding how Coolidge departed in a blaze of plaudits and unsolved problems. The problems Eisenhower leaves are terrifyingly bigger, Kennedy observed.

We watched Kennedy appraisingly. Nobody these days, of course, has the flailing power, the slow rise and awful sledgehammer fall that Bill Borah achieved, or that titanic scorn of Churchill's. Kennedy is good and getting better, but it is still hard for him, we think, to let himself go.

Eisenhower's budget is about what you would expect. If he gets his small surplus next June and the big one he hopes for in 1961, he will have had four years in the red, four in the black with an over-all deficit balance of $15 billion. Eisenhower has somehow argued himself into the position that money spent for space missiles isn't "defense," and he has to insist on this every time, presumably to reassure Americans that Moscow's moon shots and huge rocket boosters don't really threaten us a bit. We are doing fine, the President said; we shall be "ready to attempt actual manned space flights within the next two years." We hope Russia will wait.

Newspapers told last week that Egypt has begun the first stage of the great Aswan Dam with Soviet help. Asked about it at his press conference, Eisenhower said that the US, Britain and the World Bank might help in the next stage. He said it so casually that you almost forgot the background. Only three and a half years ago, with studied insult, Dulles – the man Eisenhower called the greatest Secretary of State in history – publicly withdrew the offer to help build the dam. "Why did Dulles turn down Nasser so brutally, without a chance to save face?" asked *Time* correspondent John Beal in his eulogistic biography, *John Foster Dulles*, published in 1957. Why, he explains, it was a wonderful gambit, part of Dulles' brinkmanship, "a calculated risk . . . on a grand scale, comparable . . . to Korea and Formosa." Dulles, you see, was out to "expose the shallow character of Russia's foreign economic pretensions," believing that Moscow really wouldn't help with the dam.

A week after the Dulles step Nasser seized the Suez Canal. Dulles was in and out of that, too, finally convincing France and poor Anthony Eden that he was a slippery double-crosser they couldn't trust, so they made their own ill-fated attack on the canal without telling us. It is amusing to read Beal's final chapter – "the Peacemaker." Well, Dulles is gone, Nasser has the canal, and Moscow is helping to build the dam.

Civil Rights Deadlock

★ About once a year we try to explain what the GOP-Dixiecrat collaboration really means. This is a good time in connection with the civil rights bill. This mild Eisenhower version is now deadlocked in the 12-man House Rules Committee. The committee won't act, and there are not enough signatures available to bring it to the floor by petition. The reason is, of course, that the GOP and Dixiecrats swap favors: the sanctimonious GOP helps the South keep the Blacks in place, and the South helps kill liberal spending measures. On the Rules Committee there are four Northern Democrats, four Southern Democrats and four Republicans. The Republicans won't help the Northerners, so the bill is stalled. Again, it takes 219 House signatures to discharge the committee. Northern Democrats don't have that number and need about 50 or 60 GOP signatures for the job. Republicans won't sign. One telephone call from Eisenhower and the GOP would fall into line. He doesn't call.

This doesn't mean there won't be a bill. We expect one. But not until the GOP has squeezed out the last drop of advantage by demonstrating the Democratic split. Or wait – another possibility! This is a perfect set-up for young Lochinvar Nixon; he settled the steel strike and befriended labor, didn't he? We think the GOP would love to cultivate the Negro vote for Vice President Nixon by letting him dramatically settle the civil rights case.

A year ago Eisenhower proposed setting up a Committee on National Goals, privately financed, that would tell America what it really is aiming for. Every now and then some reporter needles the White House by asking what's become of this grandiose scheme, but nobody knows. Not a word about it in the State of the Union message.

On the other hand the President did get together a first-rate, blue-ribbon Commission on Civil Rights. Last September it brought out its long awaited report. Its chief proposal, approved 5 to 1, was to establish federal registrars in Southern communities if the local officials refused to list Negro voters. Eisenhower gave the proposal a frosty reception at last week's press conference; he didn't even know if the idea was constitutional, he said; much better stick to his current civil rights bill (*i.e.*, the one stalled in committee by GOP votes). It is reported that some of the Commissioners will hand back their blue ribbons if they don't get White House support. It's no fun doing a nasty job if the boss won't back you up.

Throw Out the Life Line

★ That amusing primitive, Texas oil millionaire H. L. Hunt, who supported McCarthy and founded and dropped "Facts Forum," has a new baby. He's reportedly putting up 60 percent of the money for a politico-religious radio program called "Life Line Foundation." The crusading weekly, *Texas Observer*, discovered the fact. The outfit puts on the Rev. Wayne Poucher who combats "the current threats to freedom," Socialism and things like that six days a week over 100 stations in 28 states. Besides being a self-described "religious and patriotic educational movement" it is nicely tax exempt.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 142 Number 4 Issue 2358 January 25, 1960*
Published weekly (except for omissions of four summer issues) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Phone: REpublic 7-8656. Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1950, at the post office at Washington, D.C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy 25c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address.* *Copyright © 1960, by Harrison-Blaine, Inc.*

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6. The Washington Post

"Of all the differences between the Old World and the New this is perhaps the most salient: Half the wars of Europe, half the internal troubles that have vexed European States, from the Monophysite controversies in the Roman Empire of the 5th Century down to the Kulturkampf in the German Empire of the 19th, have arisen from theological differences or from the rival claims of church and state. This whole vast chapter of debate and strife has remained virtually unopened in the United States."

– James Bryce, 1893

How close to reality is Bryce's description of this country as this new decade begins? Theological controversies certainly do not embitter public discourse. Freedom of religion is securely anchored in law and popular acceptance. Members of some faiths are not welcome in some social circles, and a swastika may be scrawled on a synagogue wall by some illiterate. But on the whole, competing creeds in America co-exist happily and with the minimum of ill-will.

And yet this democracy which prides itself on toleration has far to go still in working out appropriate solutions for the myriad problems roughly classified under the heading: "Separation of Church and State."

At the grossest level, there is, of course, the question of religious prejudice as it reflects itself in politics, and the Presidential candidacy of Sen. John Kennedy – whatever else may be said for it or against it – is in one sense a test of our national conscience. Have we today – as we had not when Al Smith ran – the maturity to measure a candidate as a man and a statesman, not as a *Catholic* man and a *Catholic* statesman?

Senator Kennedy is entitled to this because he has made plain the irrelevance of doctrinal obligation in the performance of the duties with which he would be charged as President. This is not to say that the teachings of the church may not be influential in shaping his views on matters of public policy. Presumably the church's position on birth control figures largely in Senator Kennedy's hostility – a hostility apparently shared by President Eisenhower, without benefit of doctrine – to any governmental encouragement of family planning. But the doctrinal basis for such beliefs is not in itself open to objection: surely religious teachings have played some part in, for example, Dwight Eisenhower's passion for peace, and Harry Truman's insistence on the immorality of racial discrimination. What matters is not the *source* but the *content* of the policy. The fact that a candidate is a Catholic is

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relevant only to the extent that it offers clues to his views on some matters of high policy. Beyond that no religious test is in order – provided (1) that the candidate eschews legislative proposals designed to compel conformity by the entire community with the tenets of a particular sect, and (2) that the candidate recognizes the primacy of his civil obligations in the sense that, as President, he would "take care that the laws be faithfully executed," whether he likes the laws or not.

On this score Senator Kennedy has made his position encouragingly clear. Therefore he could say what he said so well on the day he announced his candidacy:

> "I would think that there is really only one issue involved in the whole question of a candidate's religion, that is, does a candidate believe in the Constitution, does he believe in the First Amendment, does he believe in the separation of church and state. When the candidate gives his views on that question, and I think I have given my views fully, I think the subject is exhausted."

If this is the totality of Senator Kennedy's attitude toward his own Catholicism, undiluted applause is in order. What is somewhat disturbing is the off-stage rumbling, from Kennedy adherents, that Democratic Party rejection of their candidate will be treated by American Catholics as a religious rejection – and will be dealt with accordingly at the polls. As a prophecy of human behavior such a statement is one thing. But as a political threat it is quite another. If Kennedy supporters use the Senator's faith as a weapon, the nation as a whole will be the poorer for it.

From the courtrooms come muted echoes of the partisan debate. The echoes affirm – what Tocqueville noted so long ago – that in America great political issues tend inevitably to become judicial ones.

In Pennsylvania last month the state supreme court denied the claim of two Christian Science Churches that they were entitled to tax exemptions for their adjacent parking lots. Not a religious use, the court concluded. The decision accords with the salutary view taken by the federal government that the Christian Brothers, a Catholic order which has cultivated its Western vineyards to huge commercial advantage, ought to pay taxes on the proceeds. What remains obscure, of course, is how the principle of tax exemption for truly religious properties and activities can be squared with a rigorous application of the separation of church and state: if government may not appropriate money to subsidize a church, why may it engage in the indirect financial favoritism of emancipating churches from the tax liabilities borne by the rest of the community, including non-believers? The answer presumably is that this is the way things have always been. Here, as elsewhere in the law, Holmes' dictum is irresistibly true: a page of history is worth a volume of logic.

The parking lot case seems to focus on an interpretation of the Pennsylvania tax statutes, and therefore probably will not go beyond the Pennsylvania state court. But three other cases, posing in more urgent fashion aspects of the federal constitutional questions inherent in the relationship between church and state, are now at the threshold of the US Supreme Court.

In one, coming up from a federal court in Massachusetts, the question is whether Judge Magruder was correct in his impressively documented conclusion that "Sunday Laws" – laws curtailing commercial and other allegedly irreverent activity on "the Lord's Day" – are an invalid infringement of the rights of those who celebrate an older Sabbath (or none). Why, if "Sunday laws" are an exercise of state police power to insure a weekly day of rest, cannot that benign objective be achieved in a religiously neutral way? (For example, by requiring one day off a week but not ordaining a particular day; or, if there must be a uniform day, let it be one with no special religious flavor). In a second case, the Court will have before it Judge Biggs' holding, for a federal court in Pennsylvania, that prescribed daily readings of Bible verses and of the Lord's Prayer are impermissible in public schools; the ruling seems to accord with what the Supreme Court has said in the cases dealing with "released time." Affirmance of these two judgments would do much to demonstrate that the Constitution really does bar "establishment of religion."

Objection from Connecticut

The case that will doubtless prove most difficult for the Court is the appeal from the Connecticut Supreme Court's recent reaffirmation of the validity of statutes forbidding the use of contraceptive devices. The Connecticut court's ruling rejected the plea of a physician – Dr. C. Lee Buxton, chairman of the Yale Medical School's Department of Obstetrics – that he was professionally obligated to counsel his patients on methods of contraception; the plea of one patient of Dr. Buxton's for whom further conception may mean death; and the pleas of other patients who would in all likelihood give birth to stillborn or hopelessly handicapped babies. The Connecticut court felt it was not its function to carve out exceptions to the omniverous legislative mandate. And as for the reasonableness of the legislation – well, as the court observed, Dr. Buxton's patients have their remedy, "abstinence from sexual intercourse."

In all probability the Connecticut decision will be reviewed by the US Supreme Court before Connecticut's highest court is forced to rule upon a second challenge to the Connecticut statutes now brewing in the state trial court. In this most recent litigation the plaintiffs are three New Haven ministers, of various Protestant persuasions, who regard counseling their parishioners in family planning as a matter of religious obligation.

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Thus the ministers are urging a First Amendment objection to the statutes not available to Dr. Buxton and his patients in the case now nearing the Supreme Court.

But the current case in its essence poses a reverse First Amendment question of far graver significance for the American community. The question is whether the wall between church and state has not been breached – whether the state is, in effect, engaged in "establishment of religion" – when it enacts or maintains legislation at the instance of one sect for the purpose of imposing legal sanctions, binding on the entire community, designed to compel conformity with the social dictates of that sect. This, of course, is the vital difference between being opposed to governmental encouragement of birth control by artificial means – as Senator Kennedy and President Eisenhower are – and being opposed to repeal of "God's law," forbidding the use of contraceptives, as the Catholic Church is. For it is hardly coincidence that Connecticut and Senator Kennedy's Massachusetts, with their great Catholic pluralities, are the two states which still retain rigorous anti-contraceptive statutes. It should be acknowledged that the Connecticut and Massachusetts statutes were not in the first instance the product of Catholic pressures – rather they derived from that dessicated Puritanism which prevailed in New England three quarters of a century ago. However, these legal restrictions survive today not as monuments to past prurience, but as blunt reassertions of present day Catholic power.

Doubtless the Supreme Court will find a way of disposing of the Connecticut case without reaching so formidable a question. Indeed the question probably isn't – and very likely cannot be – "presented," in the formal lawyer's sense, in such a way as to be amenable to judicial disposition. How, after all, does one "prove" the Roman Catholic Church's control over the Connecticut legislature? Yet the Justices are real men judging in a real world; they will know, if they do not explicitly acknowledge, that this is what the case is about. At the same time, the Justices will be reluctant to resolve this case and kindred cases of so inflammatory a character through exercise of the awesome power of judicial review unless it is pretty clear that the ordinary political processes cannot be counted on to reach sensible long run accommodations. For the corollary of Tocqueville's aphorism is that the Supreme Court generally should not arbitrate the gravest public issues except as a last resort. The Court must step in where, as with segregation, our democratic institutions are incapable of translating the Constitution's imperatives into reality. Short of this, the Court is entitled – and in some contexts obligated – to look first to the people and their elected representatives. As it tackles the current crop of cases touching on matters of church and state, the Court will, therefore, be keeping close watch on the integrity and maturity of the political campaigns.

Budgets and Elections

The First National City Bank of New York, greeting the New Year in its monthly letter on general business conditions, started with the statement: "The nation has just completed its most prosperous year. Despite interruptions caused by labor disputes, 1959 broke records in virtually all the accepted measures of business activity, including production, employment and trade. Gross national product reached a new peak of about $480 billion in 1959, up from $441.7 billion in 1958 and the previous high of $442.5 billion in 1957. Part of the rise reflects price increases. But the indicated physical volume of goods and services produced was 7 percent above 1958 and 4 percent greater than in 1957. Moreover, the year closed . . . with high expectations for 1960."

The letter continues with the comment that only the assurance of continued steel output which became available after its publication "is needed, in the general view, to spark an advance which in 1960 will carry the gross national product beyond the $500 billion mark."

The projected effect of this newly heightened prosperity on government revenue appeared in the President's announcement, in advance of his budget message, that the deficit anticipated earlier for the current fiscal year is quite possibly going to turn into a surplus of some $200 million, and that a $4.2 billion surplus is in the offing for fiscal year 1961 – the 1961 revenue is estimated at $84 billion, with expenditures at $79.8 billion.

The President's proposal that the surplus be used to retire some of the national debt is headed for a variety of cross-currents.

Since the Republicans took office in 1953 the debt total has mounted from $266 billion to $290 billion. More important, the Administration's tight money policy has upped interest rates until the slice of the budget required to service the debt will next year reach $9.5 billion – more than the total of the entire federal budget for any of the years which saw enactment of the domestic programs of the New Deal. In view of this figure, the President's continued request for removal of the 4.5 percent ceiling on the interest rate payable on government bonds of more than five years' maturity runs into a strong Congressional reluctance to guarantee current levels of interest into the long-term future.

The appearance of a substantial surplus in an election year is likely to tempt both parties into proposals for its use for other purposes than debt-retirement. There will be those who will wish to prevent its accumulation by cutting tax rates, and those who will prefer to reduce accumulated deficits in the public sector of the economy.

Actually, when the end of the session is at hand, the President's capacity to toss this unexpected surplus into the Congressional hopper may prove to have enabled him to hold a line which might otherwise have crumbled. If there is a hot fight over the $4.2 billion, there may be

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"Don't Worry. We're Keeping a Firm Hand on the Till."

no fight on the broader front of the containment of the country's spending within the 1954 budget level.

Until Mr. Eisenhower's announcement, cracks in this front had begun to be visible. Sen. Hubert Humphrey, in his speech before the National Press Club on January 5 had been bold enough to say that the nation could afford a greater effort than it is currently making, and that if the money to pay for such an effort is not available now, Congress should raise it. Other Capitol Hill figures, while insisting that funds enough to do what needs to be done could be squeezed out of present wastes, have added that if this proves impossible, new taxes should be considered. Restlessness was in the air, a restlessness enhanced by the steel strike settlement, which showed the Administration willing to abandon its prolonged warnings on the evils of inflation when a little inflation could purchase a political coup.

If the country could not afford to do what it needed to do in 1959, why could it still not afford to do what it needs to do in 1960, after the gross national product, in real purchasing power, had risen by about 7 percent of $441.7 billion? What would this $30-odd billion worth of additional prosperity buy if channeled into defense, school rooms, roads, hospitals, foreign aid?

The presence of the $4.2 billion may prevent such questions being asked. For the details of the budget the President has submitted show the sensitivity to public mood which is to be anticipated in an election year.

Total expenditures on major national security, which take 57.1 cents of the budget dollar, are planned to be very slightly below current levels, but the Department of Defense is expected to spend slightly more in 1961, with most of the bulge in its research and development item. And right up front in the budget message is a proposal to increase the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's funds to "keep moving ahead vigorously and systematically with our intensive program of scientific exploration and with the development of the large boosters essential to the conquest of outer space."

Likewise, though the appropriation request for the Development Loan Fund stays constant at $700 million, the total of new obligational authority in economic aid comes to $2.175 billion through the inclusion of "defense support" – $724 million – under this heading.

Among domestic programs, it is not surprising to find the President interested in programs to take into account the great importance of natural resources to the nation's economic growth and security – election years are always good for the Army Engineers and there are even kind words for that exponent of creeping socialism, the TVA.

Financial help for construction of local schools and college facilities is advanced. And broader coverage is proposed for both the unemployment compensation system and the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Agriculture fares less well than labor; expenditures in 1961 will be higher – $5.6 billion as compared to $5.1 billion in the current year – but the new obligational authority requested for 1961 is cut to $4.6 billion on the theory that "the longer unrealistic price supports are retained, the more difficult it will be to make the adjustment in production needed to permit relaxation of government controls." The missing item in the usual election year menu is expansion of the social security system; but that may come later as the campaign warms up.

But if the above proposals respond to the expectations of the mass of voters, others will appeal to the "prudent management" wing of the Republican Party. In addition to the debt retirement proposal with which the message starts, "equitable taxation" is to be applied to cooperatives; taxation is to be deferred on income derived from less-developed countries abroad; various ceilings on mortgage loans are to be lifted; price stability is to be inserted into the Employment Act as a major objective.

The Dillon Committee

There was just the slightest note of evangelism and passion in the voice raised at Paris last week by Undersecretary of State C. Douglas Dillon. The assembled delegates of the OEEC governments were listening to

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one official of the Eisenhower Administration who is not marking time until '61, and some must have been surprised at the clarity and vigor of the appeal made by Dillon, in the name of this passionless Administration, for a common Western approach on trade and aid. Although Mr. Dillon did not come back with neatly-packaged solutions, he has taken important first steps in a program of action which, if carried forward during the next 12 months, will make an enormous difference in what the next President can do and how rapidly he can do it.

It is in the coordination of aid planning that the Dillon mission has yielded one limited but visible immediate result. Within the next month a meeting has been scheduled for Washington of a new Western-aid clearinghouse committee consisting of representatives of the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Canada, Italy, Belgium, Portugal and the Common Market as a unit. The new Dillon committee is an interim body and will be absorbed by the successor organization to the OEEC now projected as a consequence of the Paris discussions. But the aid committee has an importance of its ow- ee-member bankers' survey mission to appointed in December by World Bank P. . Eugene Black can now address its recommendatio. to the new committee and thus, in effect, to the governments represented on the committee. Senators Kennedy and Cooper in pressing the Senate resolution which preceded the appointment of the survey mission had intended that its report would form the basis of broadened US-aid legislation. But Black in naming the mission had pointedly avoided any reference to the destination of its report. In addition to its practical utility in greasing the machinery of aid policy during the closing months of the Administration, the new committee may also help to shame such balky governments as Chancellor Adenauer's into greater aid commitments. As the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on European economic regionalism headed by Rep. Frank Coffin (D, Me.) said last week, urging creation of an "Industrialized Nations' Economic Forum," each member nation "will be free to pursue its own course. But there will be a collective conscience in being which cannot fail to have a persuasive and constructive effect."

THE SUCCESSION SHIFTS IN THE KREMLIN

Khrushchev's New Heir

by Richard Lowenthal

The United States is not the only country in which the succession to the present Chief Executive preoccupies many minds. The dramatic fall from grace of Alexei Kirichenko, who had been regarded by the initiates as the most likely candidate one day to inherit Khrushchev's mantle as leader of the Soviet Communist Party, has offered striking proof that internal rivalries for power among the Soviet élite did not cease when the struggle for Stalin's succession ended with Khrushchev's final victory more than two years ago. In the form of a competition for influence on the new dictator, and for his eventual succession, they continue as lively – and as obscurely – as they ever did in Stalin's lifetime. But the most significant new development appears to be not so much the unceremonious transfer to Rostov of the youthful Ukrainian leader who had been a close and faithful associate of Khrushchev since the war and owed him his spectacular career since Stalin's death, but the indications that the new Number-Two man is that tight-lipped, ruthless ex-member of the Soviet secret police, Nikolai Grigoryevich Ignatov.

There has been, of course, no formal announcement to this effect. No dictator likes the idea of an official heir presumptive. The story is told that last summer, when Averell Harriman asked Khrushchev whether he had any thoughts on the succession, he amiably indicated that, in agreement with Mikoyan, he was grooming the other first deputy prime minister, Frol Kozlov, to become the next head of the Soviet Government. But when the visitor, his curiosity unsatisfied, asked who might be the next holder of the real key position – that of first secretary of the Communist party – and rashly mentioned Kirichenko, the countenance of the boss darkened, and he answered with feeling, if not very logically, that he had no intention to delegate *that* function. We may well, believe that he has no such intention now;

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but a man with such varied duties and activities clearly needs a deputy in every field, including the most vital one.

All the more important, then, was the appearance in New Year's Day's *Pravda* of a list of awards for labor valor shown in Soviet agriculture, during the past year, in addition to those already announced during the preceding Central Committee session. For this list departed, without explanation, from the strict protocol rule that has obtained throughout the post-Stalin period – that holders of the same party rank are listed alphabetically. The New Year's Honor's List, beginning with Khrushchev himself, gave the name of N. G. Ignatov second – before that of A. B. Aristov, his formal equal in the presidium and secretariat of the Central Committee. As no particular deeds of Ignatov's in the field of agriculture were known or announced, this precedence clearly implied an elevation in rank.

With this clue, it is possible to deduce that the decision for Ignatov's elevation, and for Kirichenko's demotion, was taken by the end of November. At that time, Ignatov, who had been rather mysteriously elected to the purely representative post of chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federative Republic in April, at the request of the party's Central Committee, was as mysteriously released from that post because now the Central Committee found it necessary for Ignatov "to work at his main job" in the party secretariat. The April transfer only made sense as preparation for the possible resignation or demise of all-Union President Voroshilov, as in that case the president of the Russian Republic would act as his deputy. The retransfer in November, then inexplicable, now appears as the prelude to the assumption of even more important duties. In fact, it happened during a wave of important personal changes in the non-Russian republics, involving the security chiefs of Byelorussia and Lithuania, the first secretary of the Latvian party, and the presidents of the Latvian and Azerbaijan republics; and there is reason to believe that the selection of leading party and police personnel in the non-Russian republics had up to then been one of the fields in which Kirichenko exercised a supervisory responsibility.

The Rise of Ignatov

To decipher the political significance of Ignatov's rise is more difficult, especially as he is a man who makes few speeches and likes to work in the background. But the facts of his career are at least suggestive. Born in 1901, he joined the Cheka – the first Soviet secret police organization – at its foundation in 1918 and worked in it up to 1932 – right through the civil war and through Stalin's forced collectivization, but *not* during the period of the Moscow trials and the blood-purge of the party. By then, he had been transferred to the party machine himself, and a few months before Stalin's death rose for the first time to membership in the Central Committee Secretariat and candidate membership in the party presidium. He lost these posts in the reshuffle that followed Stalin's death, and turned up as second secretary in Leningrad; before he left that city at the end of 1953, he had prepared the ground for Khrushchev's dismissal of the first secretary there, Malenkov's appointee Andrianov, and for his replacement by the present first deputy premier of the Soviet Union, Frol Kozlov. More important, he had gathered evidence for the investigation of the "Leningrad Affair" – the 1949 secret trials of Zhdanov's followers, for which the former security minister Abakumov was executed in 1954, and in which Malenkov has been accused of complicity by Khrushchev. Having subsequently worked as regional secretary in Voronezh and in Gorki, Ignatov was suddenly promoted to full membership in the party presidium after the defeat of the Malenkov-Molotov group in June-July, 1957, and became a secretary of the Central Committee six months later. In short, he is the nearest thing to an inner-party policeman for Khrushchev's faction that we know; and that impression is reinforced by the fact that at the 21st Party Congress last year, he was almost the only member of the party presidium who referred to the activities of Malenkov's defeated "anti-party group" as "criminal," thus indicating that he would like to see them tried and punished.

One other significant fact about Ignatov is that he is a Russian, and that his rise and Kirichenko's fall seem to coincide with a renewed stress on Russian predominance in the Soviet Union, and with a beginning reversal of the "Ukrainian invasion" of the central party machine that originally accompanied Khrushchev's rise to power. As early as August the Ukrainian-born former youth leader Semichastny, who had taken over the Central Committee department for party organs in the non-Russian republics only in spring, was sent to Azerbaijan and replaced by a Russian; a few weeks later, the Ukrainian head of the Central Committee Department for Agriculture in the non-Russian republics was sent home to the Ukraine, and here too a Russian took over – the Saratov secretary Denisov, who also distinguished himself at the last party congress by his attacks on the "anti-party group," and has now also received a medal for labor valor. The need to fight more energetically against local anti-Russian nationalism has played a role in most of the major personnel changes in the non-Russian republics during the past year, from Turkmenistan to Latvia, and is also stressed in the latest Central Committee directive on the need to improve party propaganda. It is possible that Kirichenko, who in 1953 became first secretary of the Ukrainian party after his predecessor Melnikov had been accused of impermissible efforts at "Russification," was out of sympathy with this new Great Russian trend. Ignatov will have no such difficulty.

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Hello, Out There!

The editor of Science *magazine speculates on what our radio astronomers may find next year when they try to establish interstellar communication*

For several years radio astronomers have been speculating about the existence of intelligent beings in the "radio" stage of civilization in planetary systems other than our own. As G. Cocconi and P. Morrison pointed out in *Nature* (September 19, 1959), no theories yet exist which make possible "a reliable estimate of the probabilities of (1) planet formation; (2) origin of life; (3) evolution of societies possessing advanced scientific capabilities." Current astronomical theory suggests that planetary systems may be the rule rather than the exception in the universe. If this should be so, then there is a certain incalculable probability that x planets suitable for evolution of living beings exist, and that on some of these, living beings may not only have evolved but have become highly intelligent.

Cocconi and Morrison assume that, "To the beings of such a society, our sun must appear as a likely site for the evolution of a new society. It is highly probable that for a long time they will have been expecting the development of science near the sun. We shall assume that long ago they established a channel of communication . . . and that they look forward patiently to the answering signals from the sun which would make known to them that a new society has entered the community of intelligence."

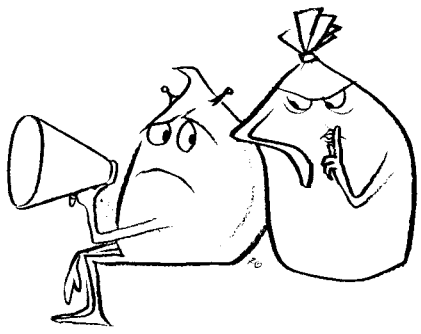
On the assumption that it is worth a try, even though the chance of success is extremely slight, early next year a small part of the operating time of the 85-foot telescope at the National Radio Astronomy Observatory at Greenbank, W. Va., will be devoted to a systematic search. The program is described by the director of the project, Frank D. Drake, in the January, 1960, issue of *Sky and Telescope* (published December 21, 1959). The most promising frequencies for exploration would be from 1,000 to 10,000 megacycles per second. Within this range, Drake thinks (in agreement with Cocconi and Morrison), any being attempting interstellar communication would select the hydrogen line – a frequency at which radio telescopes would be operated most intensively anywhere in the galaxy during the early developmental phase of radio astronomy. The signals would presumably be confined to a narrow band width (the narrower the band width the greater the range) and should show a varying Doppler shift [apparent change in frequency of sound or light due to motion] since the source would be in orbit. The instrument will first be focused on Tau Ceti and Epsilon Eridani, sun-type stars about 11 light-years away.

What kind of signals might we expect? Radio astronomers agree that pulses to communicate prime numbers or some simple arithmetical problems might be suitable. A more sophisticated possibility would be, as Drake has suggested privately, for the "others" to send out pulses in clusters – a series of pulses followed by a pause, another series, another pause and so on. The number of signals in each pulse could stand for intensity of light or dark, and we could build up a picture on the basis of the information received.

A final consideration remains. We must in addition assume that the intelligent beings with their highly developed radio technology have developed a kind of interstellar Point Four program for underdeveloped planets and that they are willing to devote a considerable effort to maintaining a long-term program of beaming messages to our hitherto unresponsive system.

Consider our own program. If you ask radio astronomers why we ourselves don't start to broadcast, you learn that they think the fiscal authorities would not approve. This leads to an unhappy thought: May not other civilizations (if they exist) have evolved analogous fiscal authorities? And may they not likewise be waiting in silence for our signal before they give their response?

– Graham DuShane, *Science*, Dec. 25, 1959



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Is This Trip Necessary?

As far as is apparent to a superficial observer with no inside information, President Eisenhower's odyssey through the Eastern Hemisphere did no great harm, and in India may have done some good; which is ample reason for heaving a sigh of relief.

But now he is projecting another jaunt, this one through Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, and on the face of the facts this one involves an even greater risk. It is known that there are Communist elements of considerable strength in Brazil and Chile, and a Peronista element in Argentina. All these are hostile to the United States, and also to their own governments. All would welcome a chance to insult the President of the United States; and if by doing so they can also embarrass their own governments, so much the better, from their standpoint.

It is a reasonable assumption, then, that during the President's visit they will make every effort to accomplish this double object. Some of them are reckless fanatics, and others are wily and resourceful intriguers; so to guard against an unpleasant incident the governments concerned must take extraordinary precautions which will probably involve considerable expense, not to mention the risk to their security officers and ordinary police. In short, the visit of President Eisenhower seems likely to impose upon the host governments a burden heavier than that imposed upon the government of the United States by the visit of Mr. Khrushchev; and ours was no light one.

The question then arises, what gain is to be expected from this trip that will over-compensate the risk to the dignity of the United States and of the nations that will be his hosts? The results of Mr. Nixon's reckless disregard of sober advice not to visit Lima and Caracas certainly were no improvement in inter-American relations. Aside from his own danger, he almost got the Foreign Minister of Venezuela lynched, which will not be forgotten for a long time by Venezuelans.

But, after all, it is the President, not the Vice President, who is the custodian of the dignity of the nation, so an insult to him would be 10 times worse than a comparable insult to any other official. No President has a right to assume that risk for any other than compelling reasons of state. Partisan political advantage certainly cannot pass for any such reason.

Hope of materially improving international relations is a reason of state, one that justified the invitation to Mr. Khrushchev, and that will justify the President's attendance at a Summit conference wherever it may be held. But that the hope is strong enough to justify a trip through South America, after the mess that Nixon made there, is debatable, to put it mildly. For one thing, it is seven years late. Mr. Eisenhower is an outgoing, not an incoming, President, and any personal relations he may establish with the leaders of South America will last for only 11 months at best.

For the rest, the American public is not aware of any matter at issue between us and the South American countries that cannot be handled satisfactorily through the usual diplomatic channels without the personal intervention of the President. If a crisis exists, it has been remarkably well concealed; nor have we been informed that the diplomatic machinery has stalled, as it has with respect to Russia.

But in the absence of some such reason one is driven back to the unpleasant explanation that the real object of this expedition is a hoped-for domestic political effect. Something is needed to obliterate, or at least to blur the voters' recollection of the disastrous Nixon tour; and what could do that as effectively as a triumphal tour by the President through the same continent?

That explanation is unpleasant because it would imply that the Eisenhower visit, obviously risky, is being undertaken in the interest of the Republican Party rather than in the interest of the United States. That would be politics of such reckless irresponsibility that to characterize it words fail. It is idle to point out that the South Americans invited the visit. So they did; but any friendly country would issue an invitation on the merest hint that an invitation is desired; and none would have been issued had the authorities involved been informed that Mr. Eisenhower didn't want to go.

There is hardly a doubt that personally he would be glad to get out of it. Such a trip is no fun, it is an arduous ordeal for the President. The galling suspicion is that once again he has been victimized by political advisers who are more smart than intelligent, and who have emphasized his duty to the party so strongly that they have momentarily blinded him to his superior duty to the country and the world.

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MORGENTHAU AND VAN DOREN

"According to . . . what I shall call the Stern Father concept of college teaching," argues an American on the staff of the London Economist *in response to Hans Morgenthau's 'Epistle to the Columbians'* (NR, *Dec. 21, 1959), "a teacher not only transmits knowledge to his students, inspires them to think for themselves and shows them where to look for facts; he looks after their moral development. . . . Now, this kind of moral wet-nursing may be just the thing that the students of Columbia need, and Morgenthau may be just the man to give it to them. . . ."*

On Stern Fatherliness

by Richard F. Sparks

I had better begin by making clear my opinion of "the Van Doren case." I am not one of those who was moved by Mr. Van Doren's confession to the Congressional committee – when it was finally wrung from him after his earlier perjury; it reminded me uncomfortably of Mr. Nixon's "Checkers" speech, and I found myself in agreement both with Rep. Steven Derounian – who felt that, since Mr. Van Doren was a big boy and a smart one, too, he didn't deserve praise for simply telling the truth – and with the British newspaperman who suspected that Van Doren's tears on the witness stand had probably been almost as thoroughly rehearsed as his contortions in the isolation booth.

In a certain sense, Van Doren behaved like an Aristotelian tragic hero: he thought he was doing right (but was actually doing wrong), and his sin was basically that of *hubris*, of arrogance or pride. Unfortunately the issue was not properly a tragic one, deriving as it did from spectacle (though indeed it did later develop quite a plot); and the evil rested as much with the quiz show's sponsors – and its audience – as with its star performer. It is sad that intellectualism in America should need defending, and commendable that Mr. Van Doren should want to defend it, even at a personal profit; his method of defending it, however, was unquestionably not the right one, and in my opinion his winnings and network salary constituted an unjust enrichment. That said, I do not see why he should have been fired by Columbia, *unless he was a bad teacher*. In this I disagree with Professor Hans J. Morgenthau: but his "Epistle to the Columbians" (*The New Republic*, December 21) raises some far more serious questions.

The essay replies to letters received by Professor Morgenthau from several students, and to a petition signed by a larger number of students, protesting against Columbia's decision to drop Van Doren. A good third of the essay is taken up with chiding the students for wishing to remain anonymous; or alternatively for having banded together to sign a petition instead of speaking out all alone (that the only logical alternative to the group petition would have been the rather less effective one of 650 separate petitions does not seem to have occurred to the professor). The tone of the essay often strikes me as patronizing. The students are told reassuringly if rather condescendingly that they are "courteous, decent, intelligent," *et cetera*, even "conformist to a fault" – a low blow if there ever was one; and there are a few gratuitous references to speaking out in open defiance ("dying on the cross") and a remonstrance in the names of "two German students by the name of Huber, brother and sister, who openly defied Hitler in the University of Munich and were hanged," which incidentally seems to me to make a decidedly invidious comparison as far as the authorities at Columbia University are concerned. The students are, of course, young and foolish ("in all likelihood closer to your birth than to your death" is the professor's creaky phrase); yet they are told that they should speak out, indulge in the public debate of public issues, *et cetera*, essential to a good old vital democracy. Enough; like Professor Morgenthau, I will save this point for last. There are also moral problems, to which I turn now.

First, the students' arguments for rehiring Van Doren, according to Morgenthau, are five in number: (a) confession has swept the slate clean; (b) Van Doren will not do it again; (c) his teaching was above reproach; (d) academic teaching is not concerned with substantive truth; and (e) the University acted with undue haste. To the first of these Morgenthau replies that "if confession can undo deeds, no evil could ever be condemned and no evil-doer ever brought to justice." But – ignoring the harsh terms used – nobody claims that confession "undoes" evil deeds: it is being argued that in this case the confession – with its attendant stigma and, one hopes, moral self-reproach – have been sufficient punishment; the deed has been paid for, not undone. Confession, Morgenthau adds illogically, "can mitigate guilt but not wipe it out." But while a confession has

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brought felons a lighter sentence (as a reward for saving the prosecution some trouble), a confession has never been held to *mitigate* guilt at law. And confession is but a preliminary step, in the eyes of the churches making use of it, to contrition *(i.e.* purgation) and satisfaction (composed of reparation and amendment).

What Moral Law?

Morgenthau condemns argument (b) as "pragmatic"; and here his reasoning is even more wildly illogical. "The moral law," he says, "is not a utilitarian instrument aiming at the protection of society . . . its commands are absolute and must be obeyed, for their own sake." At this point one can only ask, *What* moral law? Or, more appropriately, who makes "the moral law"? Morgenthau gives no answer; presumably he either takes it that "the moral law" is made by consensus, or by Divine revelation, or possibly by Divine revelation as interpreted by Morgenthau, since he is so sure of what it is. I'm not. For it so happens that there is a doctrine called liberalism, which holds that society is essentially an institution of compromise, whereby people agree to certain rules in order to live together, even though they hold different moral views. This may be bitter news, but America was fashioned under – and is still supposed to live under – the influence of this idea. It seems to me necessary to make this point because Morgenthau's essay contains a great deal of ranting about "the moral law," spoken of in each case as though everyone knew just what it was; in fact, it is an integral notion of our society that every man's morals are his own, so long as they do not lead him to commit acts injurious to others. The state has no right to regulate morals, but only people's actions as they affect others; ditto Columbia University, ditto Morgenthau.

Several examples are given at this point, *viz.*: "Oedipus did not think it was all right to marry his mother once, since he did not do it again." Of course not: in the myth he didn't know he was marrying her, and in Freudian terms the Oedipus complex operates in the unconscious, and the subject doesn't think about it at all. (Come to that, how could he "marry her again" anyway?) Then, "would you suggest that Leopold and Loeb should have gone free because it was most unlikely that they would repeat what they had done?" Surely their imprisonment was – in theory – based on (a) Darrow's plea for mercy, coupled with an implicit suggestion that they did not quite know what they were doing, and (b) uncertainty as to whether they would repeat their crime, which made it mandatory to lock them up once it had been decided not to electrocute them. If punishment had been the most important thing, surely they would have been electrocuted – or perhaps more appropriately killed in the same manner as they killed Bobby Franks. Finally, Nathan Leopold has recently gone free, precisely because it was held that he would not repeat his crime.

There is throughout the essay a longing for punishment, and a feeling that Van Doren must pay for what he did. There is little desire to facilitate Van Doren's rehabilitation: though if allowed to return he could hardly pretend that the whole thing never happened, and might set an even better moral example. At any rate, the students would be unlikely to forget, though they are ready to forgive, which Morgenthau is not.

Second, Morgenthau, next asserts that teaching – or rather a teacher's moral attitudes – have a close connection with substantive truth. It is said that if this were not so – in "fields of knowledge dealing with man" – then Plato and Aristotle, Sophocles and Shakespeare (!), Montesquieu and Locke, Jefferson and Lincoln could mean nothing to us, except as objects for antiquarian exploration. In fact, Plato's moral and legal ideas, while similar to those of Aristotle, do differ from them significantly (in the relation of laws to the constitution, for example); the two dramatists reflect the widely differing moral codes of their societies; and if Locke and Montesquieu seem similar, let Professor Morgenthau try Locke and Hobbes. But teaching *ability* has little connection with substantive truths being taught – certainly none in the sciences, and not much in the humanities, at least at the college level. Of course, teachers who sneak across bad ideas – from Nazism to New Dealism to nudism, as the powers that be decree – must be fired. But Van Doren was not accused of this; and nowhere does Morgenthau challenge his *ability* as a teacher.

In any case, he decides that teachers must be honest, not merely during classroom hours, but always. This would be admirable, though perhaps unduly rigorous; that one should insist on it for teachers ("guardians and augmentors of a permanent treasure") and not for others is somewhat curious. The teacher is allowed no private moral life; if he lied on his vacation, say, he would be a bad teacher. We have heard this before, in a slightly different context: it was once said (and may still be said) that a man who was a Communist was a bad teacher. Or a homosexual. Or an atheist. Or a lot of things. I am sorry to say it, but as one who went to college during the McCarthy years, this argument has a familiar – and insidious – ring. The whole point is, was Van Doren a good teacher or a bad one? The students say he was a good one; they may or may not be right, but nowhere does Morgenthau challenge them. Instead we are told that it is "the sanctity of the moral law that counts" (again).

There is, as I have said, much talk about obedience to "the moral law" in the essay, along with talk of "justice," "judgment," and implicitly "damnation" (Morgenthau's apparent identification with St. Paul seems appropriate). The students are told that they (and their university, and you guess which one cuts the ice in this

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context) cannot let a violation of moral law pass as if it were a traffic violation. But this poses a practical problem, in addition to being shaky ethics: as Barbara Wootton has recently (and brilliantly) shown in *Social Science and Social Pathology*, the traditional concept of responsibility has already been dangerously eroded by modern psychoanalysis, and, rightly or wrongly, may be on the way out altogether in law. In any case, as she points out, it is hard to determine responsibility: if a traffic violation passes, why not payola from textbook publishers? Why not crooked TV shows (no crime in themselves)? Why not adultery, which teachers sometimes commit? Where and how is the line drawn, and drawn by whom?

The Dean of Columbia, whom Morgenthau quotes, supplies an answer: "This behavior seems *to me* to have been contrary to the principles that a teacher stands for." He also talks loftily about "instilling moral principles," though the question of just which principles goes begging unless (see my italics above) one reads "instilling *my* moral principles." This is, bluntly, a kind of moral brainwashing: admittedly of a well-intentioned sort, but in any case an attempt to transcend mere teaching and supplement it with moral indoctrination, which would seem both unnecessary and undesirable when dealing with college students.

Third, which brings me to Morgenthau's strictures about anonymity, and to what I shall call the Stern Father concept of college teaching. According to this concept, a teacher not only transmits knowledge to his students, inspires them to think for themselves and shows them where to look for facts; he looks after their moral development, teaches them what's right and what's wrong, and (though "all men have a moral sense") makes their moral judgments for them. Now, this kind of moral wet-nursing may be just the thing that the students of Columbia need, and Morgenthau may be just the man to give it to them. But if this is true of the students, it is deplorable; and I doubt its truth with regard to Morgenthau, who makes no distinction between Buddha and Aquinas, Plato and Pascal (with Sophocles, the Biblical prophets and Kant thrown in).

Is this attitude – the Stern Father concept – possibly causally related to the students' desire to remain anonymous? Is it not possible, in short, that they wished to remain anonymous because they feared that the Stern Father might punish them if they were known to advocate Van Doren's reinstatement? Again, if this is true, it is deplorable: there is, I am sure, no justification whatever for their thinking that way, at least at Columbia. But I suspect that the fact that they feel that way is an indication that they are used to being treated less as responsible adults than as foolish children; and I suspect that if they were encouraged – in their day-to-day life in the University – to speak heretical opinions and defend them in debate, then they might not be quite so reticent to do it when the chips are down.

In any case, Morgenthau's "Epistle" is full of Stern Fatherliness: he talks condescendingly of the students' ignorance of moral law, and assures them blandly that once they have learned it, everything will be O.K. ("You will no longer be afraid of your shadow and the sound of your voices. You will no longer be afraid of yourself.") He compares them to barbarians, and accuses them of anxiously trying to justify themselves in moral terms. This may not be *hubris*, but it certainly is arrogance: and, in a professor speaking to college students, it carries the implicit threat of punishment which commonly leads students to anonymity and the togetherness that comes through petitions.

For if American students are to display moral *conduct*, they will have to formulate moral *ideas*; as the times change, these ideas must be constantly re-examined, re-interpreted and re-applied. The students must be exposed to other people's moral ideas, taught to evaluate these ideas, to think about the issues for themselves, and finally to speak out freely. There is no one moral law: it is wrong for a professor to hold that there is, and arrogant beyond belief to pretend that he can – and should – force such a law on his students.

Decade's Birth

by Aaron Kramer

Though clock-shaped, more or less, the earth
has no machinery we know of
that somehow can be set to go off
exactly at a decade's birth.

With bugles, therefore, and with bells
we wish to thrust our ten years' tidings
past the horizon, where it widens,
unto the planets and – what else?

Great news of gain, still more of loss,
and ten fresh years untolled, untallied:
what bulletin of bells, what ballad
of bugles, flood the night for us!

Hush! from the sky: is it some star
congratulating and condoling?
Ah, no; it is our own bells' tolling
returned by hills not high, not far.

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Republicans in the South

by William Chapman

The rulers of the Republican Party in the South, usually a querulous and disunited lot, are approaching the 1960 national convention in a spirit of contrived but determined harmony. Aware that they will command one of the largest delegate blocs with nearly a quarter of the convention seats, they have spent the past year polishing their solid front. They probably will not stray far from the national party line, but will indulge in some sideline maneuvering for candidates and a platform which can be peddled with ease below the Mason-Dixon Line next fall. Bolstered in number and unified on the surface, the delegates from Dixie are optimistically preparing to exert a stronger and predominantly conservative influence on their party's proceedings.

Supporting this enthusiasm are two decades of Presidential election gains and new signs of life locally. While Hoover cracked the Solid South in 1928, Republicans date their success story from 1940 when, with Willkie, they won 30 percent of the major party Presidential vote in 15 Southern and border states. By 1956 they had increased that share to an actual majority of 52 percent. In his first campaign of 1952, General Eisenhower brought Virginia, Florida and Texas into the Republican column. Four years later he added Kentucky, Louisiana and West Virginia.

But this record, imposing on paper, greatly exaggerates actual Republican strength. Political scientists have long recognized Southern "Presidential Republicans" who ride the elephant in national elections and the Democratic donkey in Congressional, state and local races. As long as the patronage-minded GOP leaders ignored their own precincts, two-party politics down South remained a distant vision.

Scattered signs that a new generation of party leaders is willing to fight on local fields are now appearing: A series of West Virginia city council races are won by Republicans – Florida campaigners announce they will challenge a veteran Democratic Congressman – Democratic nominees for Mississippi and South Carolina legislatures face opposition for the first time in years – all five GOP Congressmen win re-election in Southern districts – a Democratic tide sweeps the rest of the country.

No one sees a groundswell. Even National Republican Headquarters admits that precinct progress is "quite spotty." Some of the new Republican candidates suffer humiliating defeats. But their success is not to be measured in wins and losses like the local baseball team's; the true gauge is that they bother to take the field at all. A local campaign is a phenomenon which the old-style patronage mogul would neither encourage nor desire.

Mississippi offers a clear and dramatic example. A largely dormant "Black and Tan" faction which controlled the state Republican Party for 30 years was routed in 1959 and replaced by more vigorous leadership. The victors hired a bustling executive secretary who puts out a monthly newsletter and scurries around the state appealing mainly to young businessmen who have no ties with the entrenched Democrats. During the past six months local GOP organizations have been formed in 75 out of 82 counties. Magnolia Republicans won a celebrated victory last summer when, after a bitter fight, they managed to get their State Senate candidate on the ballot. They will run two candidates in Congressional elections this year and already are lining up a statewide ticket for 1963.

The combination of election year gains and of ground-breaking in the precincts has increased the prestige and power of Southern Republicans in national party affairs. When they produced few votes they received little attention from the national GOP hierarchy. "We even had trouble getting tickets to the national convention," one veteran party workhorse recalled recently. Today Southerners hold bonus seats on the National Committee and send larger delegations to the national conventions. Top party executive posts, long closed to Southerners, have been opened. Consider the present lineup: National Chairman Thruston B. Morton of Kentucky, Assistant National Chairman Mrs. Clare Williams of Florida and Special Assistant Chairman I. Lee Potter of Virginia. This newly-won recognition, aside from its prestige value, enables Republicans to tell independent voters that National Headquarters "is interested in a Southern point of view." They contrast this reception with the frosty treatment given Southerners by the Democrat's National Chairman, Paul Butler.

To strengthen this regional voice, Republican leaders from 12 Southern states have formed the Southern Association of Republican State Chairmen. It will be the clearing house for Southern convention strategy in Chicago next July. Publicly the association insists that it does not represent a challenge to the national party; on the contrary, its chairman, G. Harold Alexander of Florida, works hard to minimize regional issues which could split his group away from national GOP policy.

"This is not a thing of division – nothing to set the

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South apart," he assured a reporter in Jacksonville last fall. "Of course," he added, "in any union there is strength. But don't get the idea that we're trying to put pressure on the national party."

As shepherd of this Southern flock, Mr. Alexander, a 57-year-old Fort Myers businessman who has been an active Republican partisan since the 1920's, will be a key figure in Chicago. The other chairmen agreed at a meeting last April in Miami to support Presidential or Vice Presidential hopefuls only after conferring with him. And through his leadership they plan to pool Southern strength on the resolutions and platform committees. Despite Mr. Alexander's disclaiming any intentions of pressuring the party, the goal is evident: A team of candidates and a platform which can be presented as an acceptable package to Southern voters.

While the Southern chairmen are in agreement on this general goal, they are not unanimous in giving it a precise political definition. Theirs is a union for political gain in which differences are tolerated but controlled for the sake of unity. Without suggesting an actual schism in the ranks, one can identify at least two distinct points of view within the Southern Association.

The "Old Guard" and the "Young Turks"

The first view is held by those veteran Southern stalwarts, typified by Mr. Alexander, who may be referred to as "Old Guard." They have spent many years of their lives in Republican politics and are anxious to eliminate friction with the national GOP. They prefer to submerge, or blur, those issues – particularly civil rights – which are potentially divisive. This wing's idea of good 1960 politics is to support Eisenhower-Nixon "moderation" and present their party to the South as less objectionable than the Democrats.

The second grouping, whose members openly refer to themselves as "Young Turks," adopt a harder, more distinctly Southern tone. Prominent in this wing are Gregory D. Shorey, Jr., of South Carolina, Wirt A. Yerger, Jr., of Mississippi and William Cobb of North Carolina. All three are relative newcomers; all are in their middle thirties. They prefer an all-out conservatism which emphasizes states' rights and they are frequently critical of national party decisions. They especially dislike the strategy of presenting their party as simply a less distasteful medicine for Southerners to swallow. Taft-type Republicanism satisfies both their sense of principle and their instinct for good politics.

The school integration issue illuminates the dividing line between these two factions, and their differing reactions to the party's 1956 civil rights resolution offer a clear test. That plank, a classic compromise on the Supreme Court's "all deliberate speed" decision, closely followed a suggestion from Virginia's Ted Dalton and in fact was a victory for Southern Republicanism generally. It delighted the Old Guard Southern bloc because it preserved party harmony without offending Southern independents. Florida's Mr. Alexander predicts a similar compromise will be reached easily this year and he blandly rejects the possibility of convention in-fighting with Northern Republicans.

Mr. Shorey says bluntly that the 1956 resolution "didn't mean anything and was never meant to." He and Mississippi's Wirt Yerger will work this year for a states' rights plank stipulating that each Southern state should be permitted to work out desegregation in its own way. As a public policy, that attitude would certainly bring integration to a sudden halt in almost all Southern states. But for Mr. Shorey it is both reasonable and correct. "I think the Republican Party is against integration," he comments, "and I think it should say so."

While the Southern chairmen either approve of or are reconciled to Vice President Nixon's Presidential nomination, there is no unanimity on the Vice Presidential choice. Young Turks are carrying the flag of Barry Goldwater and will wage a convention fight if he gives the nod. The ultra-conservative Senator from Arizona has championed states' rights on several Southern speaking tours, arousing the more conservative press to spasms of undiluted praise. Shorey publicly endorses Goldwater for the *Presidential* nomination. Yerger calls him "my number one choice" for Vice President. Both admit that their man's chances are remote; but they are not anxious to work for any nationally-known Republican who is not a genuine conservative.

These divisions in the house of Southern Republicanism should not be exaggerated. They are essentially a new version of the Conservative-versus-Moderate gap which the National Republican Party bridges handily in convention hall every four years. It should also be noted that state party chairmen must speak in the approved moods of their respective states. The mood of Mr. Shorey's South Carolina is not the mood of Mr. Alexander's Florida or Carroll Reece's Tennessee.

Whatever may happen in the convention, Southern Republicans – all of them – face a crucial test in the November election. Lacking an Eisenhower on the national ticket, they will be in danger of losing ground in states he conquered as a popular hero-President. All five of their Congressional seats are "marginal" – won in 1958 with less than 55 percent of the two-party vote. They harbor no illusions of picking up a Senate seat.

The Southern GOP, however, claims a solid basis for optimism in 1960 and the years ahead. It lies in the broad strata of conservative, independent voters, found largely in the growing business and professional ranks, who reject the Democratic Party and who know the futility of third party maneuvers. There is, as one GOP leader said, "no place for these people to go." Should this element decide to "go" with the GOP, it could swiftly change the nature of Southern politics.

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A Playful Homer

by Richmond Lattimore

The Anger of Achilles
Homer's *Iliad*
translated by Robert Graves
with drawings by Ronald Searle
(Doubleday; $4.95)

In his introduction, Mr. Graves makes some judgments about his original, and about his own translation, which should be remembered when we read this version. In his opinion, *The Iliad* is a work made primarily for entertainment. The spirit is satiric and cynical. Most of the characters, mortal or immortal, are brutes or fools or both, and largely represent the brutes and fools of the aristocratic society Homer sang to. Mr. Graves evidently admires Homer's insight, wit, and story-telling. (Whether he thinks the poetry as such is good, I do not know.) He argues his case very well. I agree with him that *The Iliad* was meant to entertain, rather than to instruct or enlighten, but this does not mean that the quality should be that suggested by the word "entertaining."

Mr. Graves distinguishes between "translation" and the making of "cribs" – versions, that is, which stay as close as possible to the literal meaning of the text. I would call these types, respectively, free and close translations. The Graves translation is very free. It is mostly in prose, but many short passages are done in rhymed verse.

I said the version was free. This works in several ways. "At times, I incorporate footnotes into the text, but only when the sense is deficient without them," Mr. Graves says in his introduction. Compare Graves' version of a passage at the beginning of Book 24 with the excellent prose translation by A. H. Chase and W. G. Perry. The gods are considering the question of having Hermes steal Hector's body from Achilles.

"Now this pleased all the others, but not Hera nor Poseidon nor the bright-eyed Maiden, but they continued as when at first they hated holy Ilium and Priam and his people because of Alexander's fatal folly—he who slighted the other goddesses when they came to his sheepfold, and praised her who furthered his grievous lust." – Chase and Perry

"An inveterate hatred of Troy set only a small group against this plan: Hera, Poseidon, and Pallas Athene. Hera and Athene could not pardon a verdict given many years previously by Hector's brother Paris, when they visited his sheep-farm with Aphrodite *and asked him to judge which of them was the loveliest. Hera's bribe had been an offer of wide kingship. Athene's an offer of glorious conquest, but Aphrodite's an offer of the most beautiful woman alive.* Paris awarded Aphrodite the prize, *and was thus able to seduce Helen; though he violated the laws of hospitality by doing so.* Poseidon supported Hera and Athene: *in his view Paris' behavior was atrocious – King Priam should have refused Helen and her treasures admittance into Troy.*" – Graves

Homer's content is strictly given by Chase and Perry. Italics indicate the most important material, not in the text, which Mr. Graves has incorporated – rather more than his general statement had prepared us for. The run-in material, to be sure, makes all clear, much clearer than the motivations Homer gives us. Homer is, in fact, so allusive, or even evasive, that we can not even be sure he knew the familiar version, complete with bribes, which later tradition has given, and which Mr. Graves follows in his version.

Do we want all this – it may be quite wrong – or do we want a faithful "crib"? The reader can decide for himself. There is a good deal more of this kind of "incorporated footnote" on a smaller scale, and much of it is useful.

There is a different freedom in the handling of the scene between Helen and Paris after Paris fought Menelaos, at the end of Book 3. Here again, compare the two translations.

"Then Helen, daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus, sat down, turning away her eyes, but she scolded her husband with these words: 'You have come back from war. Would that you had died there, overcome by the mighty man who was my former husband. Surely you used to boast you were a better man than Menelaus, dear to Ares, in strength and hand and spear. Go now and challenge Menelaus, dear to Ares, to fight again in single combat. No, I bid you pause and not make war, neither do battle rashly against the fair-haired Menelaus, lest you be quickly worsted by his spear.'

"But Paris answered her and said: 'Do not trouble my heart with harsh words, woman. For this time Menelaus has won with Athena's help, but another time I shall vanquish him. For there are gods on our side, too. Come, let us take pleasure in the bed in love. For desire has never yet so filled my heart as now, not even when first I stole you from lovely Lacedaemon and sailed away in the seafaring ships and lay with you in the bed of love on Cranaë. Now even more I love you and sweet desire seizes me'."

– Chase and Perry

"Helen sat down, scowled, and began reproaching him.

'So here you are! What a disgraceful sight! I almost wish my former husband had put you out of your misery. You used to boast yourself his match as a fighter! Very well, get up from that bed – go back, and challenge him once more . . .'

'Stop being cruel,' he answered. 'This afternoon Athene helped Menelaus to win his round; some other day I may win mine. You and I also

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have a goddess to assist us.'

'No, no,' Helen sobbed. 'I did not mean what I said! Please keep clear of Menelaus; I could not bear to watch a second single combat. He might kill you.'

'Darling,' Paris coaxed her, 'come here and make love! I never felt so strong a passion for you since I carried you off from Sparta and we spent our first night together on the little island of Cranaë. This is going to be no less wonderful for us both'."

– Graves

Chase and Perry are again much closer, both in other respects and in the order, which is Homer's. Why does Graves change it? All I can see is that his version makes a more lifelike everyday conversation than Homer's. Homer and the close translator leave us to guess just what Helen means when she tells Paris not to fight Menelaos again. Graves wants it perfectly clear. To this end partly (and partly for the tone?) we are given the little stage directions ("Helen sobbed," "Paris coaxed her") which are a part of Graves' style throughout.

Mr. Graves is consistent. To the end of producing an everyday modern version, he has abandoned the Homeric paraphernalia of formulae and fixed epithets; he substitutes the paraphernalia of clichés. Here is Agamemnon reviewing his army.

"Meanwhile, since the Trojans were re-arming, the Greeks followed suit. King Agamemnon rose to the occasion; nobody could accuse him of sloth, fear, or lack of zeal."

– Graves

But it may be objected that Agamemnon is mediocre anyway, and the passage routine. Then here is Hector to Andromache, late in Book 6.

"Hector answered: 'Your forebodings weigh heavily on my heart, yet I should lose my self-respect if the Trojan nobles and their womenfolk caught me malingering. I could not bring myself to do so, in any case; I have always fought courageously with the vanguard for my father's glory and my own. But let me tell you this: it is my conviction that our holy city must soon fall, and that every man in Troy must die around King Priam. What agony awaits my mother, my father, my brothers, and the many hundreds of brave Trojans doomed to lie in the dust at our enemies' feet! I confess, though, that all this troubles me little when I brood on the agony that awaits you – led weeping into slavery by some mail-clad conqueror!' "

– Graves

Many famous translations are free translations, but the freer a translation is, the better it has to be. If Agamemnon rose to the occasion, Hector did not. This seems both stuffy and trite.

There is also the verse. As Mr. Graves says in his introduction: "I have . . . followed the example of the ancient Irish and Welsh bards by, as it were, taking up my harp and singing only where prose will not suffice." These short verses scan and rhyme with great regularity. The prayer of Thetis to Zeus in Book 1 is a good example:

Great Father ZEUS, if ever THETIS
  Assisted you by word or deed,
Alone among the Immortal Gods
  In ministration to your need,

Fulfil, I beg you, this petition:
  Honor Achilles, her dear son,
Foredoomed by FATE to end his life
  Before its prime has well begun.

Now Agamemnon, King of Men,
  Has roughly robbed him of his prize,
Lovely Briseis; by this act
  Dishonouring us in all Greek eyes.

If ZEUS, sage sovereign of Olympus,
  Rebuking such injustice, lends
A brief support to Trojan arms,
  My son may hope for full amends.

If I, too, may for a moment reach for my harp, I will say that often

  Prayers, similes, and curses,
    And speeches at the meetings
  Come out in little verses
    As glib as Christmas greetings.

The merits and shortcomings seem fairly clear. This interpretive translation

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is above all sane and reasonable. Scholarship and erudition are impressive, but obtrusive. There are no loose ends. If there were, they got tucked in. There are no dark sayings, no mysteries, no mystery; no contradictions or surprises; no magic, no wonder, nothing wild or moving. There is not even anything outrageous or uproarious. For that, we have to go to Mr. Ronald Searle's illustrations, which are more robust than the text they accompany.

Eisenhower Economics

by Calvin B. Hoover

The author has chosen an excellent subject. The economics specialist of the Washington bureau of *The New York Times,* Mr. Dale in this short book writes in an interesting and sprightly fashion of the disillusionment of the Eisenhower Administration as it learns the facts of life about fiscal and monetary policy. The hard facts which conservatives have had to learn include the incompressibility of the budget in the presence of commitments long since made and no longer politically capable of repudiation by either party and the anguish entailed in trying to find the right moment to take appropriate action for the management of a national debt which has become largely unmanageable. In a chapter called "The Bounding Budget" Mr. Dale comes to the conclusion that governments can no longer control the size of budgets. This he finds to be the main root of the frustration of conservatives.

Conservatives In Power
A Study in Frustration
by Edwin L. Dale, Jr.
(Doubleday; $3.95)

Mr. Dale devotes a large proportion of his book to a discourse on inflation under a number of diverse chapter headings. He notes that the degree of inflation which has taken place under the Eisenhower Administration has sometimes been called "the New Inflation." However, he cautiously recognizes but tends to minimize the effect of "cost-push" forces and seems to believe that old-fashioned "demand pull" has remained of greater importance as an inflationary force. As Mr. Dale puts it, "my hesitant conclusion, then, is that the classic explanation of inflation – excessive demand – is not only not dead, but probably remains the most valid explanation of them all."

Mr. Dale believes that the total of the national budget is important as well as the size of the deficit in determining inflationary pressures. He minimizes the importance of pressure groups in expanding federal subsidies by the somewhat curious device of "charging" only new subsidies to the account of pressure groups. If old subsidies, such as those to farmers, should be withdrawn, the economy would be upset, so no one is really willing to oppose the continuance of the old subsidies. Such subsidies are no longer due to pressure groups, it is reasoned.

It is natural enough that Mr. Dale should have concentrated on the difficulties of the Eisenhower Administration with the budget, debt management, and inflation because there are the matters to which the Administration has given principal attention. The frustration of the Administration in experiencing the largest peace-time budgets, the largest peace-time deficits, a threatened run on the United States gold reserve, and a decline in the rate of our national economic growth is indeed evident.

Yet it might be said that it is precisely in this area that the Eisenhower Administration has made almost its only comprehensive effort to carry out a conservative program and it is in this area that it has had some success along with the frustration which Mr. Dale so well describes. Conservatives, however, had not expected a Republican administration to be content with balancing the federal budget through limiting expenditures. In the old economic system, the role of the government had been held to a minimum in accordance with old-style liberal doctrine. Conservatives had hoped for at least some other steps toward a return to a pre-New Deal type of economic system although they knew in their hearts that the old days could not return. Mr. Dale does describe how in the one case where an effort was made to do something about returning to a liberal economic system in the Benson farm program, political exigencies produced a sort of economic monster.

The Conservatives in the United Kingdom also found when they supplanted the Labour Government that they could not simply turn back the clock. It is commonly said that the Conservatives in the United Kingdom are much more progressive than the Republicans in this country. The evidence indicates, however, that the Conservatives in the United Kingdom have brought about more changes in economic policy than has the Eisenhower Administration.

Mr. Dale specifically excludes the foreign policy of the Eisenhower Administration from the subject matter of his book. In so doing, he is able to avoid a problem which no one else has tackled either. Would an internationalist or an isolationist foreign policy be the more consistent with conservative doctrine? The foreign policy of the Eisenhower Administration, involving very large international commitments, has been a major factor in the President's difficulties in reducing expenditures and in balancing the budget and controlling inflation.

Mr. Dale does not attempt to deal with the more basic causes of the frustration of conservatives in power in a democracy. These are the age-old difficulties which conservatives encounter whenever they must compete for the votes of the masses. Cato, the conservative leader, discovered this when he was forced to compete with the popular leader Caesar for the votes of the Roman people. Cato's reluctant offer of subsidized low-cost grain was later easily topped by Caesar's offer of free grain. Democratic politicians may find it more difficult to overbid Mr. Nixon's settlement of the steel strike.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Richmond Lattimore, *a poet who teaches classics at Bryn Mawr, is the author of a verse translation of* The Iliad. Calvin B. Hoover *is on the economics faculty at Duke University.* Gerald W. Johnson's *piece is the first in a series in which he will report on campaign documents during the months ahead.*

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A Teachers' Revolution

by Christopher Jencks

More than a year ago James Bryant Conant published *The American High School Today*, giving unprecedented publicity and prestige to a body of recommendations long supported by the majority of educators. Considering how few of these proposals evoked serious criticism from teachers, laymen might have expected sweeping reforms. Yet the impact of the report has been comparatively slight – not much more than the dozens of similar reports which had earlier recommended one or another of Dr. Conant's changes. The diagnostician must therefore conclude that the near fatal disease now afflicting our schools is not ignorance, but inertia.

The Future of Public Education
by Myron Lieberman
(Chicago; $5)

Even the casual observer of teachers can explain some of this inertia, but Myron Lieberman's *The Future of Public Education* is the most lucid and comprehensive analysis now available, with the possible exception of his earlier and more technical *Education as a Profession*. We are committed, he argues, to an educational system which makes teachers into civil servants. They think of themselves as hirelings, whose responsibility ends at their classroom door. They leave all the important far-reaching decisions, which affect the welfare of the schools, the students, and even the teachers, to boards of education and legislatures whose only qualification is their appeal to the electorate. These men determine who will be hired, how he will be trained, what subjects will be taught, and even what textbooks will be used – despite the fact these are complicated problems about which politicians rarely know anything, and on which teachers ought to be experts. Teachers are not encouraged to have new ideas even in their own classrooms, and when they do, their experiments can only benefit their handful of students, because teachers elsewhere never hear of the innovations and have no opportunity to make them a part of their pedagogic repertory.

Lieberman argues that teachers today are in much the same position *vis à vis* the public as doctors a century ago. The analogy is illuminating. Medicine after the Civil War was divided into various warring camps which, like those in contemporary education, made no effort to test their various claims or to disseminate the results of such empirical investigations as were made. Each denounced the others as charlatans, and thus encouraged the public to believe that the profession was shot through with quacks. Since there were no standards of certification to protect the sick, the public was often right, just as it is now right in thinking that almost any fool can legally get his hands on their children, and get paid for his trouble. In such an atmosphere, every adult thought that his own opinion was nearly as good as his doctor's, just as every parent is now ready to denounce or obstruct those educational theories which do not strike his fancy.

During the half century between the Civil War and World War I, medicine transformed itself from a dubious guessing game at the expense of the patient to a science for curing him, so that doctors are now among the most respected people in the country. *The Future of Public Education* attempts to chart a similar revolution among teachers. The fundamental argument seems to be that education is beset by the division of power and responsibility. Teachers feel they are impotent, and blame a nebulous "public" for educational disasters, arguing that there is no money for able teachers, no prestige for able students, and no power to reform the schools without playing school board politics. The school board, however well-intentioned, cannot make itself into educational experts, and must rely on the

THE CAMPAIGN AND ITS LITERATURE

The Goose-Grease Brigade

As befalls in each quadrennial year, the presses are now pouring upon us that commonly doleful but occasionally droll form of literary composition known as the campaign biography. The campaign, as distinguished from the ordinary biography, is designed, like a play, less to convey information than to establish a mood – favorable to the subject in most cases, but occasionally the opposite. The technique varies with the capacity of the biographer, but the general idea is unction, achieved by hacks through anointing with goose-grease or – in the unusual cases of inimical works – through smearing with mud; while better writers attain the same end by delicate thurification.

These words are not to be confused with the kind of enterprise undertaken by Eric Sevareid and recently reviewed in these columns, nor that of Stewart Alsop, which I have treated elsewhere. They were both remorselessly scientific investigations. Sevareid assembled a posse of literary anatomists and performed dissections of the leading candidates; Alsop did the work himself and confined his attentions to Rockefeller and Nixon. Both were volumes of essays on politics, not campaign biographies in the accepted sense.

But now comes Joseph F. Dinneen with the real McCoy (*The Kennedy Family* – Little, Brown; $3.95.) True, Mr. Dinneen's book is a variant in two respects – it is not confined to the Senator but reviews his whole tribe; and it is no hireling's labor, but was written *con amore*. Dinneen obviously idolizes the Kennedys, and the honesty of his praise makes its extravagance not merely bearable but actually pleasant. The Kennedys in fact are likable people, and the Senator's war record is epic. On that episode Dinneen is not extravagant for the simple reason that he couldn't be – nor could anybody else. If what you desire is a first-rate excuse to vote for Kennedy, this book will serve your need to admiration; but if you want to find out what kind of President he would make, you should look a little further.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

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advice of a superintendent, who is in turn more worried about keeping his annual appointment than about the long range of the community's young people. And as Lieberman points out, the lack of systematic evaluation of the nation's 50,000 schools means that even exceptional success in one community is unlikely to become known, much less imitated, elsewhere.

The transformation of education, Lieberman argues, therefore requires a powerful professional organization, which can 1) develop national standards of excellence and free teachers from local pressure and parochialism, 2) guarantee decent working conditions including both reasonable teaching loads and remuneration, and 3) develop an effective program for teacher training, and rigorous standards of certification which will keep the incompetents out.

The elimination of local control has much to recommend itself, both because it might free teachers from the intellectual veto-groups which prevent discussion of important political and social issues in the classroom, and because taking the schools out of local politics might free them for pioneering now banned in fear of "public opinion." Only with Federal support, he argues, will we be able to have real experiments, such as are now subsidized in Agriculture or Defense because no local system can afford costly original schemes. But is is also possible that a nationalized school system would be like national TV – afraid not of any one local veto-group, but of all of them. Thus while a nationalized school system might be better able to talk about race in Atlanta, or the UN in Los Angeles, it might be unable to talk about any of these things anywhere, because the Senator from Dixie would have influence over schools in California, while the Senator from Fortress America would have influence over the relatively internationalist Southerners. This danger – which produced the ban on debating recognition of Red China at West Point and Annapolis – is of course quite different from the totalitarianism most people see nascent in a national school system, but it is nevertheless a real problem, which Lieberman copes with less adequately than most others.

The development of a national professional organization would also transform the civil servant role of the teacher, and give him an effective bargaining position from which to demand decent schools. The National Education Association is not, however, such an organization, for it is too timid to enforce its recommendations by sanctions – feeling that the defense of "professional standards" through strikes or boycotts or other sanctions would be undignified, and that it is better to teach badly than to refuse to teach at all. In the long run, it is the children who suffer from such policies. Teachers' salaries are now so low that the schools attract mostly the inept who can find no work elsewhere, and who deserve no more money than they get. Good teachers can move to the few decently paid systems, or to the colleges. Children have no such choice, unless they have heard of the handful of good private schools which offer scholarships.

While there are many who would disagree with Lieberman's contention that national professional groups should replace local school boards as the arbitrators of educational right and wrong, almost nobody will argue with his contention that teacher training and certification is an appalling mess. Yet even here he takes an unpopular line, arguing that this has little to do with the educationist "conspiracy" about which so many have written so little during the last decade.

Lieberman points out that more teachers are trained in liberal arts colleges than in teachers colleges, and that even in the latter, the great majority of their work is in the liberal arts rather than education. It is true, of course, that most schools of education are intellectual slums, but unfortunately the same can be said of all but a small proportion of liberal arts colleges, in which only a handful of people are preparing to teach. The problem is that most colleges have uneducated teachers, unsophisticated students, and no contact with the centers of higher culture in America, rather than that they have been corrupted by John Dewey.

Indeed, according to Lieberman, the trouble with the teachers colleges is that they fail to follow Dewey's advice and allow teachers to "learn by doing." Instead, they apply the standard academic formula: "tell 'em, don't show 'em." Their difficulty, if Lieberman's analysis is correct, is that they have an inferiority complex about the liberal arts, and aimlessly ape instruction in these areas, instead of instruction in professional schools of medicine or law, which more closely approximates their purposes. In particular, Lieberman deplores the decline of the laboratory school at the very time when other professions are emphasizing clinical training. He argues that education, like medicine, should expose teachers to several years of intensive work under the direction of the best teachers available, giving them an opportunity comparable to the young doctor's to observe an expert at work. The present effort to provide supervised teaching experience is fruitless, he notes, because the supervisor is not himself usually an expert, and because he is likely to let the student teach his class, and himself devote the hour to preparing for his other four daily meetings. That certification should be based on his recommendation, plus evidence that the student has spent a certain number of years taking courses of indeterminate quality in education, is obviously inadequate assurance that the young will not go to the intellectual butchers. Until we have examinations which test the student-teacher's knowledge and classroom ability, certification will continue to mean only that the teacher has perseverance.

Mr. Lieberman's analysis of the schools is in most ways unorthodox, following neither the progressive emphasis on "people," nor the traditional emphasis on "subject matter." Insofar as there are identifiable schools of educational thought concerning the public school crisis, he writes, "I am more impressed by the fundamental fallacies they share in common than by the valid points they espouse separately." His is a book about the fallacies which have underlain the "great debate," and an explanation of why he regards this debate as both irrelevant and ineffectual. Most popular books of the schools, he argues, try to tell teachers what to do in the classroom, and are thus brushed off by the teacher as uninformed gossip. His book tries to tell teachers what to do outside the classroom so that they will have a chance to do what they want inside it. If teachers read books – and surveys show they mostly don't – they should put this one on their bedside tables.

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MOVIES

Deutschland All Uber Again

What does it feel like to be a (Western) German? An outsider can hazard some guesses. Whether you are sixteen or sixty, you are anti-Nazi, and although you never heard of Auschwitz during the war, you have seen *The Diary of Anne Frank* and you are sorry now about the camps. In the main you are probably glad of Hitler's defeat, though not of Germany's, and happy to live again in a republic. After all, hasn't it proved more practical? Industry

Rosemary
(Films-Around-the-World)

booms, and a German general is high in NATO. There are some anti-Semitic flurries and you may possibly join the march of protest against them; for why should you want the current prosperous democratic status – or foreign aid – disrupted? You are proud of your country's astounding recovery and cannot entirely suppress some small belief in that innate German superiority which you must publicly disavow. What other country could have had such a decade as your 1945-1955?

Indeed you have done so well that you can afford self-satire. That is, perhaps, the real "German miracle."

In films seen here this satire has been weakly expressed in the rather toothless *Aren't We Wonderful?*, which dealt principally with the Hitler era, and now much more sharply in *Rosemary*, a post-war story. The latter is based on a successful German novel which in turn was based on the life of a Frankfurt call girl. The novelist, Erich Kuby, is co-author of the screenplay, and the film has had, reportedly, the biggest success in Europe of any post-war picture.

Rosemary Nitribitt was, in fact, a girl of the streets who became a lady of the boudoir through the interest of several Frankfurt business executives. She was murdered in 1957 and, to no one's intense surprise, her murderer has not yet been caught. Kuby's bitter little novel about her has been transcribed for the screen with some alteration (the *provocateur* is made a Frenchman!) but with its mordant view relatively unclouded.

The story is simple. Rosemary is attractive and available. She is paid by an industrial group to put a tape-recorder in her apartment to get secrets from rival industrialists, related with the boyish candor of the tired businessman in bed. She tries to play one group against the other and dooms herself.

The slim plot is somewhat overloaded in the film with apparatus: a chorus of two panders, former pals of Rosemary's who comment on events with Threepenny-Operatic songs; overused motifs like the swishing of a hotel revolving door; and various directorial touches reminiscent of German films of the twenties. The script also drags in a young religious idealist (who tries to redeem Rosemary), and a mysterious stranger, unseen and unexplained, on whom the murder can be pinned.

In the title role Nadja Tiller, a more feminine Hildegard Neff, is convincing and has one particularly touching scene near the end with her first rich protector. She has fallen in love with him and pleads with him to marry her. She conveys well a sense of the hopelessness of this idea combined with the knowledge that only this can save her from strangulation in the web she herself has woven. Carl Raddatz is effective as the quiet man whom she loves, who would like not to be revolted by her; Gert Froebe (the rich man of *He Who Must Die*) contributes his solid wurst-like presence as a tycoon who goes, as customer and confessor, to Rosemary.

But the prime matter in the film is its orbit: adipose success, parades of Mercedes sedans (used almost as characters), luxurious new houses and offices and country clubs. World War I produced a German decadence in poverty; this film depicts the decadence of quick new wealth, of a country climbing, not out of defeat, but because of it. Morgenthau and the war are mentioned to be forgotten; this is a portrait of a victory derived straight from catastrophe.

The stylized and the realistic do not marry well in the film, but its effect is

Debunking Dr. Teller's "Big Hole" Theory For Nuclear Test Evasion

In its first issue of the New Year, I. F. Stone's Weekly presents information and documents available nowhere else on the "big hole" theory with which Dr. Teller and his AEC-Pentagon allies hope to undermine public confidence in the possibility of a nuclear test agreement.

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disturbing and tenacious. Basically I think it is disturbing, hardly because the use of call girls by businessmen is news, but because Germans are in a position to applaud – as they have in large numbers – this cynical comment on their regained *richesse*. There is a certain smugness in the very caricature: "What a people we are, to have reached the point where we are capable both of these actions and of satirizing them!"

Additionally, underneath the German democratic umbrella, festooned with items like Krupp's $1800 compensation to each slave laborer, there seems to be in Germany a private satisfaction with the inevitable – a feeling that, because of contemporary East-West conditions and attitudes, Germany had to be forgiven and helped. The post-war West could not afford two enemies and was forced to pardon the gentle folk of 1870-1914-1939. *Rosemary* gives us a look at the forgiven ones looking at themselves: not with the savagery of a Brecht and Weill but with the sad shrug of big men taking the time to deplore the little cruelties attendant on progress. This caustic film, more than any *Bundesrepublik* propaganda, confirms that Germany is back where she was. With any other country – post-fascist Italy, for example – recovery is good news. With Germany, why does it make many of us a little nervous?

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

ART

The Death of the Drip

The titles alone tell the story at this year's Whitney annual; the story is that *Schmeerkunst* and for that matter the Abstract Expressionism of which *Schmeer* was the liveliest *kunst* are both about dead. Only five out of 145 paintings in the show are titled by number; only three are titled, "Untitled"; and – would you have believed it could come so soon? – there isn't a single painting called "Painting." Heaven knows the last few years have been packed with signs that the *avant-garde* was not only turning into the Old Guard but was fighting a rear guard action with noisy desperation. For months *Art News*, the movement's house organ, has been asking assorted *Schmeermensch* whether they think there's a "new academy" in American art. This was rather like the *NAM Intelligencer* polling the steel masters on whether there's price collusion in the industry and the answers were much the same: Certainly not and it's a damn good thing there is. Future historians will probably note as the final nail in the coffin the recent *Life* two-part piece on the movement, loaded with color, liturgically correct in devoting half to Pollock and half to everyone else, completely sympathetic, and, in the end, damning with late praise. The pieces were both lush and intelligent but they were not news. The same combination of limitless sympathy and limitless color is used by *Life* to summon up the vanished glories of grandfather's boyhood. To borrow from the bright lexicon of Thomas B. Hess, all this makes *Schmeerkunst* pretty *retardataire*.

Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Paintings
Whitney Museum of American Art

There is still, of course, a certain amount of *Schmeering* going on, but as the titles indicate the drift is to color for its own sweet sake without the mystical experiences that used to come from the simple act of moving a brush or a trowel across the canvas.

The bigger names of Abstract Expression are mostly present at the Whitney, a lot of them, perhaps for reasons of size, in the ground floor gallery, and they're all doing what they've always done. The most impressive Non-Objective work in the show is geometrical, large paintings with straight or curved lines separating areas of flat color. Ad Reinhardt leads all the rest in this department as he has for some years. His rectangles and lines are all painted in pretty much the same somber tone; at first glance the painting looks like a complete monotone; then it begins to work; the shapes swim up from beneath the murk; they go in and out, appear and disappear. Like the colors, the scope of Reinhardt is severely limited. He makes art out of exquisite calculation, like an expert juggler, and you could watch it for hours.

A number of museums are concerning themselves with what may be left when Abstract Expressionism has gone the way of all flash. The Whitney back garden neighbor, the Museum of Modern Art, recently put on a horror show called "New Images of Man" and apparently designed to make us all nostalgic for the peace and prosperity of Abstract Expressionism. At the Whitney the answer is, intellect and emotion, the same as always. The old combination, with no help from what has been going on in the last decade, works as it always has in paintings by Wyeth and Cadmus. Human loneliness has played an important part in both their work, especially with Cadmus, since he gave up the strident social satire that years ago first brought him to public notice. His "Sunday Sun" is a beautifully drawn picture of a young couple ransoming the light on a city roof. The shape of the painting puts them in a dark well with chimneys, roof fences and distant television antennae as walls and bars between them and the sunlight that filters down to their flesh. "Albert's Son" by Wyeth is his familiar vision of the child alone, framed by the natural geometry of barn door, interior and window on space.

More interesting historically, no doubt, is the widespread use of Abstract Expressionist means for the ends of intellect and emotion. Prestopino's "The Artist and Nature" does that. Great black lines and a flux of the colors of autumn leaves focus in on the black figure of the artist and his picture of the scene which undulates all over the can-

"LET US FACE IT, *the United States Congress is not Lorenzo the Magnificent. It is tempting to gaze up at the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel and sigh for publicly sponsored art. But it is necessary, whatever the political circumstance, to gaze at some of the offsetting monstrosities the state has built. A long walk around the castle of Mafra in Portugal. Or—to return to the modern context—a long day with the British Broadcasting Company. Any day will do; they are all long.*"

From the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. Write to Dept. N-1, 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N. Y., for free copy.

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vas. Fairfield Porter's "The Plane Tree" also employs the broad strokes of recent years to create a very pleasant mood of summer in the country. Adolf Dehn used to be dismissed as an illustrator in the days when to be understood was to be undercut; he has moved into the ruins of the enemy camp and with a fine disdain taken what he can use and carried it back home. "The Wall" is a marvelously textured close up of its subject, grainy, bumpy, weathered and aged and, when you back away, unmistakable. The picture, however, is not only the illustrator's revenge on the mystics; it's also a masterful piece of new-style painting and a joy to look at.

There is great variety in the accommodation between new ways with paint and old attention paid to things outside the artist's palpitations. John Ferren's "The Chair" plants that object in the center of the canvas and, splitting the space in four, performs harmonious color modulations through the quadrants. George Biddle, of all people, is elegant and enigmatic in the looped line and transparent planes of "Car Key." Jon Schueler's "Scottish Sea" is blue, white and gray with paint moving like big waves in fog, a kind of Turner on the rocks. Another unexpected and extremely effective voice from the past is the ghost of Sargent in "The Ventriloquist" by Robert D'Arista. The large painting is all the black of black velour; on the black, not out of it, are the heads of the ventriloquist and two of his little people, radiant and painted with a dash that is both Sargent and Abstract Expressionist.

It is the older painters, however, who are the strength of the show, unaffected by *Schmeerkunst* in either its rise or its fall, save that the fall has left a better view of their work. Julian Levi's "Poseidon" gives a wonderfully tangled view of the bearded sea god. In "Hunters" Karl Knaths has made an honest color out of the phosphorescent chartreuse now affected by outdoor types and built it into his dynamic balance of space, line, form and color. Loren MacIver's "Olive Groves in Greece" has all her misty beauty with a new strength in color and composition. Rice-Pereira's "The Ascent" reaches the top of her forms in space, showing again how essential the intellect is to the full flowering of the emotions in an abstract expression.

FRANK GETLEIN

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

What About Bowles?

Sirs:

Cheers on your wonderful article (January 11), "What About Bowles?". What about nominating for once not the noisiest candidate but the one man who would make the best President? I can think of nothing more wonderful than having Chester Bowles President and Adlai Stevenson Secretary of State. We could make some headway then nationally and above all internationally.

Gertrude H. Mertens
Woodstock, Vermont

Sirs:

Hooray for your editorial: "What About Bowles?" He is aware of, and can communicate awareness of, the revolutions of all kinds which are changing our world even as we look at it. He has the broad experience needed to see the picture whole. And he is concrete as to the policies and programs that are needed if we are to rise to the opportunities and challenges, as is shown in his new book, *The Coming Political Breakthrough.* As President, Bowles would create an environment in which all the other fine and dedicated Democrats could make a splendid contribution.

For many months I have been saying to anyone who would listen to me that I was sure he would somehow be nominated because it seemed so "right." The usual response has been: "Oh, you're crazy. He doesn't stand a chance. But I wish he did, because there is someone I could get really enthusiastic about!"

Frances L. Van Schaick
Washington, D. C.

Sirs:

I wish to commend your article entitled "What About Bowles." Your analysis of the Democratic Party's situation was excellent. In addition to support for Mr. Bowles in other states mentioned in your article, there has been much activity on his behalf here in Pennsylvania for several months. It has become in-

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Per word 13 times in one contract year 10c
Per word 26 times in one contract year 9c
Per word 52 times in one contract year 8c
NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth St. N.W., Wash. 6, D.C.

Printed by National Publishing Co., 301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

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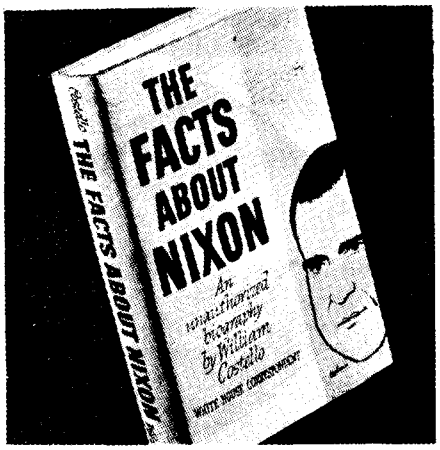

A Service to Readers of THE NEW REPUBLIC

The Viking Press has just published William Costello's *The Facts About Nixon,* expanded from his articles which appeared in *The New Republic.* The 306-page book sells at retail for $3.95. However, it is available to *New Republic* readers at a 25 percent discount, or $2.95. You may place your order now. Simply mail the coupon below, with your payment, and your copies will be sent immediately. *The New Republic* will pay the postage.

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creasingly apparent that Chester Bowles has widespread support in this state for the very reasons which you outlined so lucidly. On a recent visit here, Mr. Bowles captured the imagination of several large audiences which he addressed. In addition he was given an engraved plaque in honor of his distinguished public service by the people of Pittsburgh. It is our feeling that this sentiment and support cannot help but make itself felt among those who will ultimately decide the nomination.

Mrs. Thaïs Lathem
Pittsburgh, Penna.

Sirs:

Your suggestion of Chester Bowles as a candidate for President is a poor one. Mr. Bowles is the only man in public life who seems to have definite programs and ideas for the many problems, domestic and foreign, that confront us. As for the last eight years we have been governed by Guess (Nixon) and by God (Ike); what chance has a man with a program got in 1960? *John R. Tunis*
Naples, Florida

Sirs:

Your issue suggesting Chester Bowles for the Presidency is exciting. I have long wondered why he was not the outstanding possibility. After reading his new book, *The Coming Political Breakthrough,* I wondered all the more.

Florence E. Winchell
Bennington, Vermont

Sirs:

For the last 12 years I have been hoping that one day Chester Bowles would be President of the USA.

As far as I can see, Chester Bowles is more needed today than ever before. He is notable for that intangible thing called stature, which is so markedly missing in the entire lineup of Presidential candidates and hopefuls. He is not brilliant, in the sense that Stevenson is brilliant. He is not a dynamic speaker. Unfortunately, these characteristics weigh with the voting public, especially in these TV days. But, perhaps the public will realize that the urgency of the times demands a substantiality in the next President that we have not had for many years, and that Chester Bowles is adequately equipped to furnish.

Hansi Popper
Chicago, Illinois

Are Schools Consolidating?

Sirs:

It was a jolt in catching up on my back reading of *The New Republic* to come across the statement by Christopher Jencks in the November 9 issue that "Schools are not consolidating." In Iowa, consolidation has been going forward at a rapid pace in the last few years, eliminating not only a large number of one-room country grade schools but also a substantial number of substandard high schools. This change, now required by state law, is still in progress. *Roland A. White*
Dubuque, Iowa

A Matter of Liberty

Sirs:

T.R.B., shame on you! I was surprised to see you missed the same issue every one else does when the name Caryl Chessman comes up. . . .The real question is a simple one: Personal Liberty. Chessman was convicted and sentenced to die without the inherent and constitutional right of an appeal. The court reporter, who used a peculiar type of shorthand, allegedly was an alcoholic, coincidentally related to the prosecutor, died in the middle of the trial (or at least before his notes were transcribed.) There was at least some evidence to support the defendant's contention that the record was ambiguous. . . . I do not condone the acts of Mr. Chessman, nor do I want to see him walking the street. On the other hand, I can not condone the statement in your column for December 28, 1959, "What system of justice does the United States have where such delays are possible."

As a person within the meaning of the 14th Amendment, each individual has the right, not a privilege that must be apologized for; but a right, called due process of law. This means that society can not infringe upon the individual's personal freedom unless it is, as Justice Cardoza said, "Inherent within the concept of ordered liberty." Although it takes 12 years or 112, Mr. Chessman's right to exhaust every avenue of appeal is so fundamental it is a condition precedent to the State's right to take his life.

Edward Brown
Los Angeles, Calif.

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